2: Stefansson--84 (1908-1912) 1914 Copper Eskimo
116, 226, 411

"There are two methods of catching fish, by hook and by spear. The hooks are generally of copper, unbarbed. The spear is of the ordinary Eskimo three-pronged type the barbs of the two side prongs being of copper, typically, and the prongs themselves of musk-ox horn or caribou antler. These spears are often mounted on handles over twenty feet long. A combination of the hook and spear is found in hooks mounted on spear handles. The difference in use between these and spears is merely that in spearing the fish is transfixed by a thrust, in hooking it is transfixed by a jerk towards the fisherman. The simple hooks are generally used without bait. In using the spear or pole-hook the fisherman holds the shaft in one hand, while with the other he dangles in the water near the spear or hook, a bait attached to a long string. This bait is usually the canine tooth of a wolf or bear."

2: Stefansson--84-85 (1908-1912) 1914 Copper Eskimo
116, 411, 224

"The caribou spear is used only in connection with the kayak for killing deer as they swim lakes or rivers. There are typically two spears to a set. When the kayaks at the spearing places are made ready to be launched two spears are attached to the deck of the craft, forward of the manhole; in [85] traveling the spears are usually packed inside the kayak. The head is not barbed nor detachable, as the weapon is intended for repeated successive rapid stabs at the same animal or different animals. The heads of spears seen by us (not over twenty all together) were in about equal number of copper and iron."

2: Stefansson--85 (1908-12) 1914 Copper Eskimo
116, 411, 524

"Very small boys (under six years) sometimes have toy bows of the rib of a caribou or musk-ox, or of an unshaped willow twig. Boys of eight years and over, women, and able-bodied hunters alike have three-piece bows, the difference as to the age and sex of the owner being expressed solely through the weight and stiffness of the bow and the length and character of the head of the arrows."

2: Stefansson--85 (1908-12) 1914 Copper Eskimo
116, 411, 313

"The bows of the Akuliakattagmiut are generally made of driftwood, as well as those of the Haneragmiut and the Victoria Islanders north and west of them. All these get the materials from the mainland shore near Cape Bexley, except the Kanhiryuarmiut who secure driftwood to some extent on their own coast, but also on the west coast of Banks Island."

2: Stefansson--88 (1908-1912) 1914 Copper Eskimo
116, 322, 411

"The Kogluktogmiut and others who hunt towards Bear Lake make their bows exclusively of green spruce trees. These are chopped down with adzes and roughed-out in midsummer. After drying a month or so the bow materials are further shaped with the crooked knife and perhaps made into bows on the spot, perhaps carried unfinished to the coast in the fall."

2: Stefansson--89 (1908-12) 1914 Copper Eskimo
116, 411, 237

"The backing of the bows is preferably of the leg sinew of old bull caribou; the leg sinew of smaller animals is also used, and even back sinew. There are three or more different ways of preparing this backing and applying to to the bow. The bowstring is of sinew braided three-ply into a long slender line. This length between tips of the strung bow is from four and a half to five and a half feet in those used by men; those for women and boys are smaller in all dimensions with less sinew backing and more slender bowstrings."

2: Stefansson--92 (1908-12) 1914 Copper Eskimo
116, 411, 391

"The head is glued into the antler forepiece of the shaft with seal blood, usually, though it is sometimes fastened with copper rivets. The shank of the antler piece fits tightly into, but is not glued into, its socket in the wooden shaft. It does not seem to be deliberately intended that the head or antler piece shall be detachable, but as a matter of fact, in about two cases out of three, the wooden shaft does become detached and is usually lost if the wounded animal carries the arrow far, while an arrow-head is seldom lost that strikes an animal, unless the animal escapes."

2: Stefansson--96 (1908-12) 1914 Copper Eskimo
116, 224, 411

"A defect of the 'Tartar' bow is that as its shooting power depends entirely, or almost so, on the sinew backing, the weapon becomes weak or useless if the sinew gets damp. Eskimo therefore protect their bows carefully in bags of water-proof seal-skin, and are reluctant to use them in a rain or even a heavy fog. For this reason, also, the bows must be daily tested to see if the backing or the bowstring has become too tense or too lax from dryness or damp. There is seldom a day, even when the bow is not used, that it is not partly taken to pieces for one reason or another, generally to give an extra twist to the backing to relax it by taking a turn out of it."

2: Stefansson--96 (1908-12) 1914 Copper Eskimo
116, 224, 411

"The 'killing arrow' differs from the others in having no metal head. On the front of the shaft of wood is set a long double-edged dagger blade of caribou antler from eight to twelve inches long. This arrow is used to despatch wounded animals and is discharged at close range behind the shoulder of the caribou into the heart. It is also used by the men to shoot birds, as men seldom carry blunt arrows. This arrow is never barbed.

The blunt bird arrows are carried only by women and boys and are used chiefly against ptarmigan. The shaft is of the ordinary character, except a little shorter than is usual. The head is of antler (or of wood, in the case of very small boys) and has a flat front end or one slightly rounded, to give a stunning blow."

2: Stefansson--97 (1908-12) 1914 Copper Eskimo
116, 224, 411

"Deadfall traps are known, but we have seen none in use. One man of the Kogluktogmiut had two common steel traps from Hudson Bay through Uminmuktok; he had never set them for wolves or foxes but used them for trapping birds at their nests, and for spermophiles. This man had a wolfskin coat of two wolves he had shot with his bow. Ordinary snares seem unknown, either for use against animals or birds, but boys catch spermophiles (marmots) with a string snare set in the mouth of the hole, when the animal emerges from the hole the string is jerked after the manner of farm boys catching gophers."

2: Stefansson--98-99 (1908-12) 1914 Copper Eskimo
116, 411, 412

"The copper snow knives, and the iron ones, if the material allows it, have [99] a broad, double-edged spear blade six to twelve inches long, mounted on a handle of caribou long enough to easily accommodate the two mittened hands of the man who uses it, or a handle from seven to ten inches long. The handle is wound with split roots of the small arctic willow. It flares at the end into a thin, kidney-shaped widening. One side of this kidney-shaped spade is perforated and a string attached for tying the knife fast to the bow case in summer, when it is used as a hunting and skinning knife. The sheath for the knife is separately tied to the bow case, so that the knife lies horizontally when the bow and quiver are slung across the hunter's back. In winter the knife is carried in the sled, or held in the hand."

2: Stefansson--244 (1908-12) 1914 Copper Eskimo
411, 117

"Bows. One bow measured was four feet one inch from tip to tip, straight. They are not unstrung in winter. They are of three pieces, of drift spruce, backed with deer leg sinew. Bow about two inches wide and one-half to three-quarters of an inch thick. String of leg sinew, is one-eighth inch in diameter.

Seal Spears. One seal spear is four feet eleven inches over all, the loose piece fifteen inches. Spear had iron point, called (with bone it is set in) naúlak; the bone into which loose piece fits (on handle), katka, kĕyukta; the wooden feeler put in seal hole to show seal's approach, kaup'kōta; bone cross piece at end of string attached, ĭĭlark. The whole seal spear, natjirksĭŭn, the ordinary name for seal is ōxōvik. Tûrarxĭok is the ugrug line attached to the spear to hold seal."

8: Cadzow--16-17
116, 225, 411

(1919) 1920

Copper Eskimo

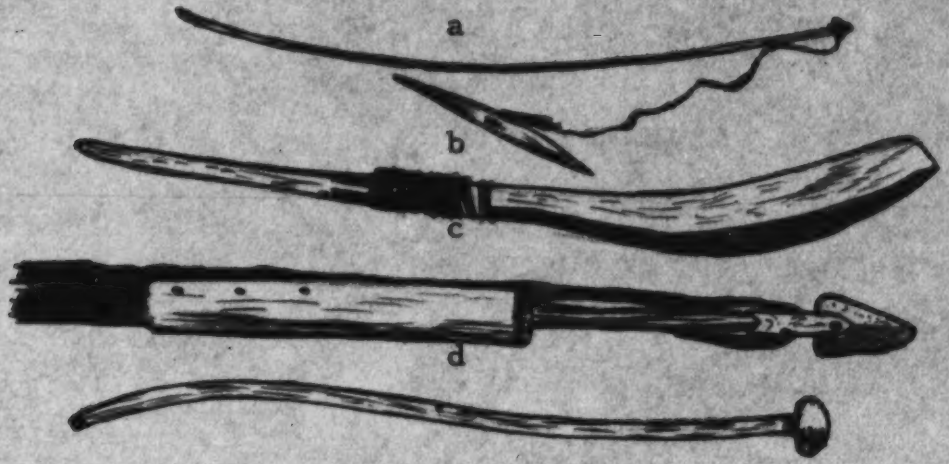

Plate IX

Figure 1

[AW:Following are the legends for Plate IX and Figure 1]

PLATE IX--SEALING EQUIPMENT

a, Bone seal indicator. b, Peg for fastening the indicator to the edge of the seal hole. c, Spoon of muskox-horn for rimming out seal holes and killing seals. d, Spear with copper-tipped togglehead, squared copper foreshaft, and with copper rivets for attaching the antler head to the wooden shaft.

FIG. 1--Seal hole finder. (38 1/2 in.)

8: Cadzow--16-19 (1919) 1920 Copper Eskimo
116, 225, 411

"Sealing Equipment.--In Coronation gulf the seal is the main source of the winter food supply, and therefore the sealing harpoon (pl. ix, d) is an essential part of the equipment of every hunter among the Copper Eskimo. There are two methods of locating a seal's breathing-hole in the ice: In the first, dogs are trained for the purpose, and the seal-hole finder (fig. 1) is used; this is held in the hand like a walking-stick [17] and poked through the snow until a breathing-hole is found, when the hunter places the slender bone seal-indicator (pl. ix, a) in the opening, one end just below the surface of the water, while the other is fastened to the edge of the hole with a pointed bone peg (b) attached to a sinew cord that extends from the end of the indicator to the center of the peg. The hunter sits beside the hole with his harpoon poised ready to strike, the shaft being held in the right hand and the retrieving-line in the left. When the indicator moves upward, the animal is nearing the surface of the water, and the hunter quickly drives the harpoon toggle-head into the seal, at the same time throwing the shaft over his shoulder and grasping the line firmly with both hands. When the seal stops struggling, the hole is rimmed with a bone pick on the proximal end of the [18] harpoon shaft, or with a muskox-horn spoon (c). The seal is then dragged to the ice and killed by pushing the pointed handle of the spoon into its eye. Then the wound is skewered with a bone peg to prevent loss of the blood, which is used in making soup.

The stem of the toggle-head shown in pl. ix, d, is made of caribou-antler, and has

a line-hole bored through it from the side, halfway between the butt and the tip of the blade. The blade is a flattened triangular piece of copper, fastened in a slit cut in the distal end of the stem with a copper rivet, on a plane with the pointed butt. The function of the toggle-head is to turn at a right angle to the retrieving-line in the flesh of the seal when it parts from the foreshaft, the butt and point preventing the toggle-head from slipping from the flesh. The foreshaft is a squared strip of copper, the pointed tip of which fits into the shallow socket of the toggle-head, the proximal end being placed in a deep socket on the tip of the head. The head is made of caribou-antler, hollowed at the near end. The wooden shaft is placed in the hollowed [19] end and held with three copper rivets passed through the head and shaft.

Length of head, 8 in.
Length of foreshaft, 5 in.
Length of toggle-head, 4 in.
Width of toggle-head blade, 1 1/4 in."

8: Cadzow--18
116, 224, 411

(1919) 1920

Copper Eskimo

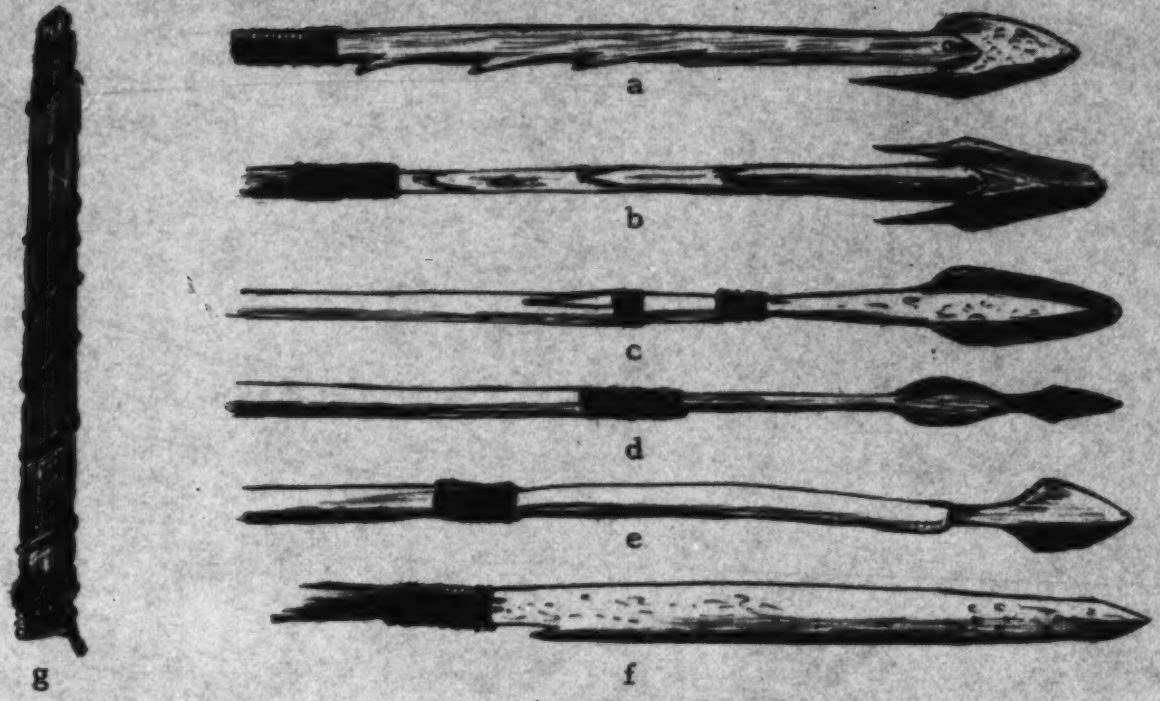

PLATE X

8: Cadzow--18 (1919) 1920 Copper Eskimo-2
116, 224, 411

[AW: Following are the legends for Plate X]
ARROWHEADS AND SHEATH

a, b, Single and double barbed, copper tipped rankling heads. c, Rankling head made from a single strip of copper. d, Double-tipped rankling head of copper. e, Copper tipped, space-shaped rankling head. f, Single notched form of bone arrowhead. g, Rawhide sheath used as cover for f to protect its sharp edges when not in use.

8: Cadzow--19-21 (1919) 1920 Copper Eskimo
116, 224, 411

"Arrowheads.--The Copper Eskimo use three varieties of arrowheads--copper, bone, and antler. Those of copper, made either of a single piece of metal or having an antler foreshaft tipped with a copper point, are the more popular and practical. They are 'rankling' heads, and used for killing big game. The pointed dowel inserted into the shaft of the arrow is made smaller than the socket, so that, when the animal is struck, the head will easily slip out of the socket and remain in the victim's flesh, where with every movement it works farther toward the vitals. The bone- or antler-pointed heads are usually of the same type (pl. x, f), and are employed at close quarters for dispatching wounded game, the heavy, sharp-edged, broad blade tearing a large wound in the victim, killing it quickly.

Pl. x, a, b, represent single- and double- [20] barbed, copper-tipped, rankling heads. The pointed proximal end of each of the round antler foreshafts is inserted in a socket in the end of the wooden shaft, and held in place with a seizing of sinew. The barbs on the foreshaft are designed to prevent the head from slipping from the flesh of the game. The triangular barbed copper tip is fastened to the foreshaft by inserting it in a narrow slot, where it is held in place with a copper rivet.

Pl. x, c, illustrates a copper rankling head made from a single strip of copper, flattened at the end into a triangular point. It is secured to the shaft in the same manner as the heads shown in a and b of the same plate.

A double-tipped rankling arrowhead of copper is figured in d. The two tips of this head, although on the same axis, are at right angles to each other. The forward tip is the piercing part, while the rear tip prevents the head from falling from the flesh.

A copper-tipped, spade-shaped rankling head is shown in e, in which the tip is fast- [21] ened to the antler foreshaft by being placed in a socket at the distal end and held in place with glue made from seal blood. The foreshaft is attached in the same manner as the shafts in a and b.

In f is represented the single-notch form of bone arrowhead, used at close quarters. This head, when not in use, is kept in a rawhide sheath (g) to prevent its sharp edges from being chipped by the copper arrowheads in the quiver.

(a) Length of head, 9 3/4 in.
Width of tip at base, 1 in.

(b) Length of head, 11 in.
Width of tip at base, 3/4 in.

(c) Length of head, 5 in.
Width of tip at base, 1 in.

(d) Length of head, 5 3/4 in.
Width of tips, 1/2 in.

(e) Length of head, 8 1/4 in.
Width of tip at base, 5/8 in.

(f) Length of head, 9 in.
Width of face in center, 3/4 in."

12: Collinson--166-167 (1851-53) 1889 Copper Eskimo
116, 101, 157, 411, 511

" On Monday I took a tent with me, and camped over in South Bay, so as to carry my triangulation out in that direction.... A party of natives came down on the 23rd, and appeared much afraid of the water, showing some reluctance in getting into the boat. I returned just as they were[167]leaving, but saw enough to confirm the report that they belonged to the Winter Island or central tribe, which we found by Captain Washington's vocabulary and their costume. They did not appear to be very well off as to food or clothing, and but few arrows were tipped with iron."

12: Collinson--286 [2] (1851-53) 1889 Copper Eskimo
116, 415, 411, 304, 152

"Their arms, lamps, and other utensils correspond with Sir E. Parry's description; during the winter, the bow with its cover and quiver is left at home, and a short spear tipped with bone carried in lieu. Among their caches in the inner harbour were two or three triangular pieces of wood fitted with slings for the arm, and apparently designed to act as a kind of shield; one of the principal men among them was scarred severely across one side of his face, but I could not make out whether it was done in war or not; they at first with us carried their knives with the blade up their sleeves, and the haft in the hand, in readiness for immediate use; but notwithstanding the dread of our firearms may have kept them quiet, I am inclined to think they are an inoffensive race."

17: Merwin--166 (No date) 1915 Copper Eskimo
116, 411

"Seals are the main source of food in winter, so the men are well provided with weapons to secure them. The harpoon is the principal one used, but to it are added some minor articles such as the snow stick and seal indicator. Throughout the north the harpoons are based on the same principle, but differences occur from place to place. The harpoon used by the Copper Eskimo is composed of several parts. The shaft of wood three or four feet long, has a spur of antler spliced to one end to serve as an ice pick. To the other end is riveted a short shaft of bone or ivory having a socket in its end. Into this opening is fitted a rod of bone about eighteen inches long. The other end of this rod is pointed to fit into the harpoon head or, if necessary, to stab with. The heads are bone or ivory with a small copper or iron point. However, a few heads entirely of iron or brass are used. Through a hole in the harpoon head is attached a line of hide or braided sinew, by means of which the harpooned seal is retrieved.

Often in hunting the snow stick is used to locate the center of the hole through which the seal rises to breathe. The snow stick is a cane-like bone rod tipped with iron or horn. It is used mainly for testing snow to see if it is in the right condition for making snow houses. The seal indicator is a slender needle-shaped rod with a string and bone peg attached to its eye. After the center of an air hole has been located the seal indicator is thrust through the snow so that its tip is just below the water. Thus the seal,

upon coming to the surface, raises the indicator. This warns the man, who quickly drives his harpoon into the animal. After drawing the seal to the surface and clubbing or stabbing it, the hunter pins up its wounds with bone pins, so that the blood will not be lost, attaches a line and drags his game home."

17: Merwin--167 (No date) 1915 Copper Eskimo
116, 411

"In summer, for hunting caribou, bows and arrows are mainly used. The bow with its case, ten to twenty arrows in a quiver, and a pouch or two of odds and ends, constitute an outfit. Black seal skin, often decorated with strips of white skin, is nearly always used to make the bow case and quiver. For carrying, these are attached to a bone handle or a strap. The bow resembles the one used by the Tartars. It is made of three pieces of spruce spliced together and backed with a number of cords of sinew. As this backing constantly demands attention to keep the bow at its best, a pair of sinew twisters for adjusting the backing accompany each bow. The arrows show great diversity, for there are seldom two alike. Points of bone, copper, iron or even brass are found. There may or may not be foreshafts, and barbs may not occur, or there may be from one to eight or ten barbs. Even in feathering no special method is used, as is the case among almost all other tribes. Arrows with no feathers, some with two or three half feathers and others with two entire feathers, are often in the same quiver. The feathers from almost all the large birds of the north are used, but the feathers of the owl, loon and eagle are the most common. Another odd thing about the arrows is that nearly all of them are made of from three to eight pieces of wood. At first this seems to be due to the lack of material, but this is not the case. A man will often take a straight stick and cut it into several pieces and then he will splice and glue these together to form an arrow shaft. The arrows average about three feet in length. This

is much longer than the arrows used elsewhere in the Arctic region. The pouches attached to the bow cases or quivers contain parts of arrows, bone tubes for drinking purposes, bone pins or plugs to stop the wounds of dead animals, bone handles to attach to lines for drawing animals or sleds, pieces of sinew and other small articles."

21: Hearne--274-275 (1771) 1797 Copper Eskimo
411

"Their arms and fishing tackle exactly resemble those of their nation in Hudson's Straights, but [275] for want of edge-tools, are inferior in workmanship."

21: Hearne--274-275 (1771) 1797 Copper Eskimo
411

"The spears and knives are also made of copper, and among the spoils of twelve tents, only two small pieces of iron were found."

24: Jenness--90 (No date) 1922 Copper Eskimo
116, 177, 326, 411

"Even before the time of Captain Bernard's visit the Copper Eskimos had acquired a considerable amount of iron, but his extensive trading resulted in total disuse of copper for harpoons and knives, although it persisted a little longer in arrows and in the implements employed in fishing. My scouring of Dolphin and Union Strait and Coronation Gulf between 1914 and 1916 resulted in the finding of only one genuine harpoon with a copper point, one copper snow-knife, and three women's knives of copper; even these were no longer used by their owners. Between 1916 and 1920 Captain Bernard, on his second visit, was able to secure about half a dozen more from the eastern end of Coronation Gulf and from Dease Strait. By 1920, Captain Bernard informs me, bows and arrows had disappeared, and the natives had ceased to use copper at all except for rivets and the manufacture of specimens for sale."

24: Jenness--90-91 (No date) 1922 Copper Eskimo
116, 177, 411

"The Eskimos of the Coppermine River region were affected by this intercourse earlier than any other group from 1908 onwards, since they were able to trade with white men at Great Bear Lake. I spent several weeks among them between 1914 and 1916 without finding a single copper knife or harpoon that had been in genuine use. From 1916 onwards Captain Bernard purchased every bow and arrow set and every copper implement that he could find, except those expressly manufactured for sale. During the same period the employees of the Hudson's Bay Company, which has several posts in the country, the Anglican missionaries, and the members of the Royal North West Mounted Police were ransacking the territory for the few 'curios' that remained. It is very improbable, therefore, to say the least, that a family of natives from the vicinity of the Coppermine River should have retained a full supply of copper implements down to 1919, or that they should have carried them inland as far as Fort Norman (especially their sealing gear, which is always left on the coast), unless these articles had been manufactured for sale. We may take it for granted that the majority of Mr. Cadzow's specimens were so manufactured. Now an article made expressly for sale may be as valuable ethnologically as one that has been in genuine use for years. The danger is that the native [91] is very apt to depart from the old types and introduce new patterns and materials in oder to secure a higher price from his customers. I asserted that this

had actually occured in one of Mr. Cadzow's specimens, the knife figured in Plate Va, and probably in a second, the harpoon of Plate IXd."

24: Jenness--91 (No date) 1922 Copper Eskimo
116, 177, 391, 411

'Mr. Cadzow now draws my attention to the copper-bladed knife illustrated in 'The Stefánsson-Anderson Arctic Expedition,' Anthropological Papers of the American Museum of Natural History, Vol. XIV, fig. 46, and points out its resemblance to his own specimen. He will find several more examples of the same type in the Victoria Memorial Museum at Ottawa, and probably elsewhere as well. Their history is as follows. The Eskimos who traded with Captain Bernard were manufacturing implements for sale as early as 1911, for example non-clasping copper pen-knives, large curved knives like our butchers' knives with only one edge (their own copper knives were always two-edged), and the type of copper knife figured by Mr. Stefánsson and Mr. Cadzow. Captain Bernard was too conscientious a collector to encourage the industry, and the natives brought me many specimens that he had refused to buy, confessing that they had been manufactured for sale and were not native to their own culture. The uselessness of these knives was shown by the fact that they were never employed by their owners except in an emergency. Mr. Stefánsson evidently obtained his specimen in 1911 from a native who had come under the influence of the new trade."

24: Jenness--91-92 (No date) 1922 Copper Eskimo
116, 411

"In regard to the question as to whether the sealing harpoons ever had copper shanks or foreshafts Mr. Cadzow refers me to Mr. Stefánsson's statement that the Kanghiryuarmiut of Prince Albert Sound use copper for 'long-bladed hunting knives, the ordinary half-moon shaped woman's knives, crooked knives for whittling purposes, copper rods for the foreshafts of seal harpoons. . .' I was already aware of Mr. Stefánsson's statement, but considered that in making his enumeration of all the various uses of copper his memory had failed him for a moment and involved him in a slight error. I have since been informed, however, that he did secure one specimen of a harpoon with a copper foreshaft in Prince Albert Sound. As far as I am aware this is the only specimen that has ever been reported, except Mr. Cadzow's, which was certainly made for sale; all the older specimens of harpoons have antler foreshafts, and only a few of the more recent have them of iron or steel. [92] I am therefore inclined to regard Mr. Stefánsson's specimen as a very exceptional form due simply to the temporary lack of an antler; but I should be very glad to learn from Mr. Cadzow whether he knows of any other genuinely old specimen with a copper fore-shaft, or of any reference to such in the literature."

24: Jenness--92 (No date) 1922 Copper Eskimo
116, 411

"In conclusion I may take this opportunity to correct two small errors in the titles of illustrations to 'The Stefánsson-Anderson Arctic Expedition.'(1) Fig. 5 on p. 50 is described as a 'Pull for Cord used in hauling Seals.' Its shape and manner of ornamentation prove it to be the handle of a bow-case. Toggles used for hauling seals are illustrated in fig. 65 of the same volume. Again fig. 64b is described as a 'Knot-opener.' It may possibly be used for that purpose in an emergency, although the Eskimos generally use their teeth or one of the bone implements from the tool-bag such as are shown in fig. 39a. In reality it is an implement that was fastened to the bow-case and used for pinning through the wings of ptarmigan and other birds; hence its name, aqargiqsiun, i.e., 'ptarmigan tool.'"

"1. Mr. Stefánsson was absent in the Arctic when this book was published and was neither able to correct the MS. nor to select the illustrations. He cannot therefore be held responsible for these errors.

[P. 1]

MATERIAL CULTURE OF THE COPPER ESKIMO

INTRODUCTION

In 1914, when the Canadian Arctic Expedition established its headquarters at Bernard Harbour in Dolphin and Union Strait, on the western fringe of Copper Eskimo territory, the natives preserved their old culture, virtually unimpaired, despite contact with several explorers in the middle of the nineteenth century, and with others during the early years of the twentieth. The only visible change caused by these contacts was the introduction of a considerable quantity of iron, which the Eskimo hammered cold, as they hammered their native copper, and had already substituted for copper in knives, adzes, harpoon-heads, and needles. From lack of ammunition the only men who possessed rifles, five in number, had fallen back on the bow and arrow, which was still the universal weapon of the chase. Of the arrows not tipped with bone about two-thirds bore tips of hammered copper and only one-third tips of iron; the ice chisel and other tools retained their copper blades and points; and the soapstone pot for cooking meat held undisputed sway in every household. All clothing was of skin or fur, mainly from the caribou and the seal; and in cut and adornment it followed without change the styles set by earlier generations. The blubber of the seal, burned in a soapstone lamp, provided the only artificial light, and throughout the winter months all the energies of the Eskimo were concentrated on the pursuit of seals at their breathing holes in the sea ice.

Ten years later the situation had undergone a profound change. Native copper had become practically valueless and served for rivets only. Bows and arrows had disappeared, because every native was now armed with a high-powered rifle. Other weapons and tools had steel or iron blades, metal cooking pots had ousted the soapstone vessels, and primus lamps and kerosene lanterns were spreading from home to home. Fur clothing was tending to follow western Eskimo patterns, and to be overlaid with bead-work, or with imported garments of cotton or wool. Dissatisfied with the old-fashioned snow-hut and skin-covered kayak, one native had even erected a plank cabin heated by an iron stove, and purchased a motor-boat to transport his household goods along the coast during the brief summer months. The tentacles of the fur trade had firmly gripped the region, and the trapping of foxes, animals of no economic importance in earlier times, now rivalled in importance the hunting of seals and caribou.

Fortunately, before this revolution occurred, the Canadian Arctic Expedition had brought out a large collection of Copper Eskimo specimens, nearly all of which are now stored in the National Museum at Ottawa. These specimens, and

Caribou leg skins were made into dog harnesses, snow mittens, and winter boots. The ears were used to trim the fronts of trousers at the waist line, or the backs and hoods of coats. The light skins of unborn fawns, or of fawns only a few days old, made serviceable clothes for tiny children, as well as summer caps to protect the head from mosquitoes, though for this last purpose marmot skin was often used instead. There were certain fashions in clothing. The heavy winter outer coat (*qulitaq*) was normally made from autumn skins, an adult's coat from the skins of the larger caribou, and a child's coat from yearlings and fawns. The two everyday coats, the *ilupaq* or inner coat and the *kapitaq* or outer coat, were of very short-haired summer skins; so, also, were the trousers, though for winter sealing it was advisable to have the outer pair of the thicker autumn skin. The same principle applied to the rest of the clothing and to the bedding; wherever warmth was especially requisite, autumn skins were necessary; otherwise the Eskimo preferred the light summer skins.

The spring skins of caribou were thrown away except in emergencies, because they were full of holes from the escaping larvæ of the warble-fly, and the hair was shedding to make way for the summer coat.

Other Skins. Polar-bear skins provided very useful "sleds" in spring, when the frozen mud runners of the ordinary sled melted and dropped off. There seems to be an oil in the hair of the polar-bear skin that renders it impervious to water; hence Copper Eskimo travellers commonly used a mitten or pad of bear skin to ice their sled runners. For the same reason sealers preferred a foot-pad of bear skin to one of caribou skin, which sheds its hair with dampness. The natives of Prince Albert Sound and Minto Inlet sometimes used bear skin for clothing, more especially for trousers, because caribou were less plentiful in their districts than farther south. The animal was skinned in the same way as a caribou.

So few brown bears were killed that there was no established use for their skins. Musk-ox skins, on the other hand, were much sought after for bedding, being laid under the caribou skins on top of willow matting. The northern natives sometimes made heavy coats from them.

Hares, foxes, ermines, and marmots were all skinned in the same way. A cut was made up the back of each hind leg and across to the tail, and the skin pulled off forwards. The forelegs were drawn out and severed at the ankles, and the ears were pulled out with the teeth. The tail of the fox, owing to its exceptional length, was often slit half-way down. Hare skins were used only for towels or socks, but fox skins up to at least a generation ago were sometimes made into coats. One of the dance songs popular in 1915 among the Dolphin and Union Strait Eskimo commemorated its use in this way.

The ermine was prized very highly as an ornamental appendage to the coat; consequently, the sight of one of these animals always occasioned the greatest uproar and excitement in a camp.

Of more value to the Copper Eskimo than all the other small animals was the marmot; from its skin they made coats, trousers, caps, trimmings for the tops of snow mittens and boots, and linings for the soles of caribou skin socks. From the same skin, also, they made tool bags and pouches for holding the fire apparatus. As a rule, however, marmot skin coats and trousers were confined to children, because their use by men suggested a lack of skill in caribou hunting. The natives of Victoria Island obtained their marmot skins by barter, as the animal does not extend beyond the mainland.

The Copper Eskimo killed very few wolves or wolverines until they obtained rifles and traps. We saw one man wearing a heavy coat of white wolf skins, and wolverine skins were probably put to similar use; at all events the natives readily made a sleeping bag from wolverine skins for a member of our expedition. They skinned birds in exactly the same way as small animals, except that

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Because many natives experienced difficulty in obtaining a piece of wood large enough to carve into a bowl, they often substituted a curved piece of bone or of musk-ox horn, lashed to a wooden handle. Specimens of these more or less makeshift scoops are illustrated in Figure 138, where *a* (IV.D.135) has a bowl of musk-ox horn, and *b* (IV.D.179) of bone. The handles of such scoops could be lengthened, if necessary, by lashing to the walking-stick or fish spear, for which purpose their owners often cut notches at the ends.

SEALING EQUIPMENT

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In the spring and autumn, when the seals were basking on the surface of the ice, Copper Eskimo hunters occasionally tried to crawl near enough to transfix them with their harpoons; but so slight were their chances of getting within range—unless perhaps in rough ice where there were sheltering hummocks—that most men never attempted the feat until they obtained rifles, which extended the effective distance for attack from 8 or 10 yards to 100 yards. Every man, on the other hand, and even some of the younger women, regularly tracked down the seals' breathing holes in the ice during the winter months and harpooned the animals when they rose to the surface. In midwinter, when the days were short, they started out for their hunting grounds half an hour before dawn, and did not return home until after dark. Their outfit was fairly standardized, though not always complete. Each man wore a long outer coat of thick caribou fur to protect his body from the cold. Sewn to the back of this coat was a bone button (*See* Figure 37) for the attachment of various tools, viz., a scoop to clear away the snow, bone skewers for closing the wounds in the seals, a toggle to drag them home, a spare harpoon head, and sometimes a foot-pad to protect the hunter's feet as he waited motionless, 1, 2, or even 3 hours, over the breathing hole. In his hand he carried his harpoon, the usual long, two-edged knife, and an "indicator" to warn him when a seal was rising to breathe; and from one wrist hung a special toggle that he attached to the trace of his dog. His method of hunting is described in "Life of the Copper Eskimos", Reports of the Canadian Arctic Expedition, vol. XII, pt. A, pages 112-114; here we need consider only the details of his tools and weapons.

Harpoons. The harpoon was roughly the height of a man, or from 5 feet 6 inches to 6 feet long; and it varied only in minor details (Figure 139). It contained essentially four parts—a shaft, usually of wood, but occasionally of two or more pieces of antler riveted and lashed together; a bone or antler (very rarely, copper) foreshaft that fitted into a hollow bone cap at the end of the shaft; a detachable head with a long hand line of plaited sinew;

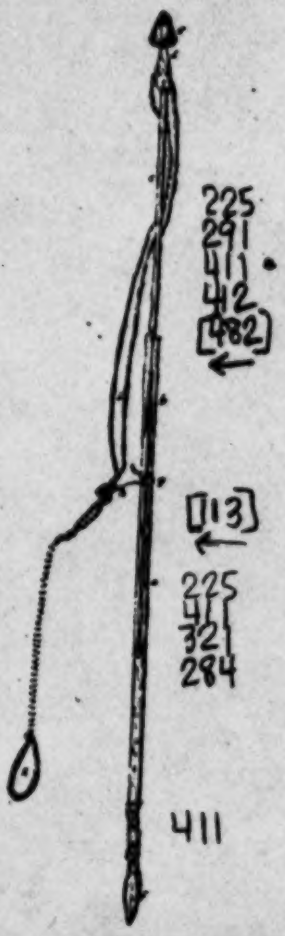

Figure 139. Sealing harpoon. *a*: wooden shaft; *b*: bone socket-piece riveted to the shaft with copper nails; *c*: antler foreshaft; *d*: antler head; *e*: copper blade; *f*: antler butt; *g, h*: sinew from hand line tucked under the thong that runs along the shaft, the thong itself being held down at this point with a copper staple; *i*: hand line of braided sinew; *k*: grip of hand line. IV.D.694. 1/10.

and a pointed bone or antler butt for planting the weapon upright in the snow. The butt was merely lashed to the end of the shaft with rawhide or sinew whipping; but the bone cap at the other end was riveted with bone or copper pins through two spurs that projected down the sides of the shaft, and the tapering end of the foreshaft was firmly wedged into its hollow by a packing of skin or fur. Through a hole drilled in the shaft just below the cap passed a sealskin thong that ran tautly one-third, one-half, or three-quarters the length of the shaft and was then knotted through another hole; it served, in conjunction with a piece of sinew attached to the hand line, to hold the harpoon head against the foreshaft. At the place where the sinew tucked under it, some hunters lashed the thong tightly against the shaft with a whipping of rawhide, or held it down with a copper "staple".

All the Copper Eskimo harpoon heads I have seen had blades separate from the head, although specimens of the old Thule culture, in this area as elsewhere, sometimes have the blade and head in one piece. The older Copper Eskimo harpoon heads were made of bone or antler, and the bone or copper blade, shaped exactly like an arrow point, was invariably set horizontally in the same plane as the line holes, and secured with a single rivet of bone or copper. The butt of the head was cut aslant, giving a single sharp spur, and a circular hole was drilled for the insertion of the foreshaft. Three of these old harpoon heads are illustrated in Figure 140.

Figure 140. Old harpoon heads. *a*, *b*: bone blades; *c*: copper blade. IV.D.1638, 600, 1638. 1/2.

The introduction of iron did not change the type of the Copper Eskimo harpoon head, but only its material. At first only the blades were of iron; the heads proper continued to be made from bone and antler. By 1914, however, nearly all heads had come to be of iron, or occasionally of brass, and what seems to have been a new feature was introduced, a lengthening and bifurcation of the butt, resulting in two, stout, chisel-edged spurs, which were themselves often notched (Figure 141). This change we must probably ascribe to influences from Hudson Bay, where the spur of the ordinary sealing harpoon head has been bifurcated for several centuries. Among the Copper Eskimo every metal harpoon head that came under my notice possessed this feature, but not a single bone or antler one, except the specimen that will now be discussed.

Figure 142 shows a harpoon head without separate blade that was included in a large collection of specimens brought back by Mr. Stefansson and labelled Minto Inlet, Victoria Island. If it actually came from that district, it must

surely have been unearthed in some old ruin of pre-Copper Eskimo times, for it is identical with specimens that have been dug up in old dwellings in both Mackenzie Delta and northern Alaska. I rather suspect, however, that it came from one of these western areas, as did several other specimens in the collection that were certainly wrongly labelled.

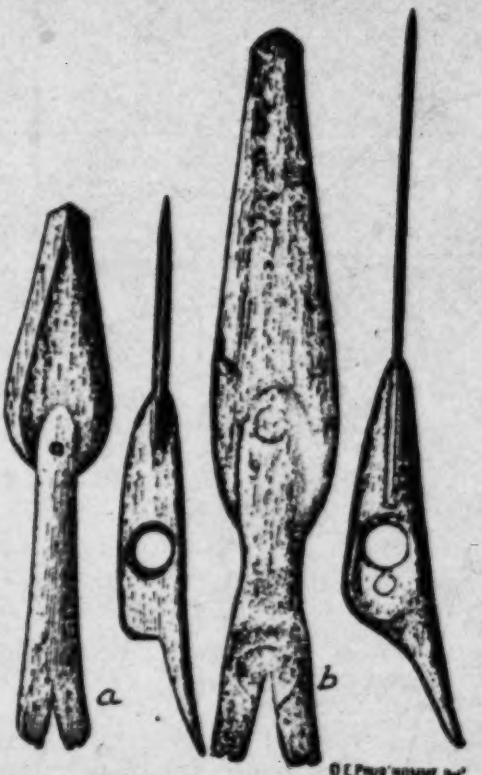

Figure 141. Modern harpoon heads with iron blades. *a*, IV.D.313, 1/1; *b*, IV.D.1054, 3/2.

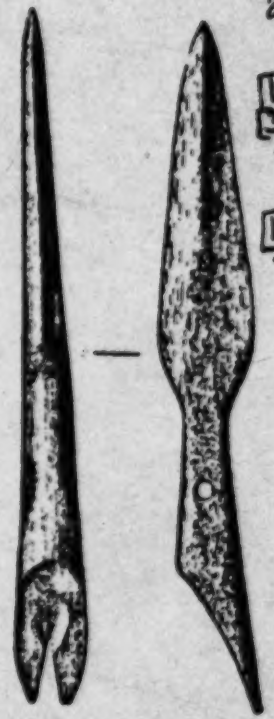

Figure 142. Bone harpoon head. IV.D.1334. 1/1.

The line attached to the head of the harpoon averaged in length a little over 2 metres and was made of plaited sinew, of sealskin, or of both combined, some hunters preferring sinew for the grip, but, for the toggle end, a sealskin thong less liable to fray. All lines were double from the toggle nearly to the grip; and to one or both strands, about 3 feet from the toggle end, was tied a short piece of sinew, which tucked under the thong running along the side of the shaft and held the lower part of the line taut until the seal was struck, when it immediately slipped out of place.

When the line was of plaited sinew it was graded from an 8- or 16-ply weave down to a 4 or 6 ply. At times this was accomplished by twisting some of the strands together, a 12-ply line, for example, being combined in twos to make one of 6 ply, and this perhaps again to 4 ply; the two ends could be

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spliced, or fastened to a sealskin thong. More often, perhaps, there was a simple tapering of the line, the narrow end, after passing through the toggle, being

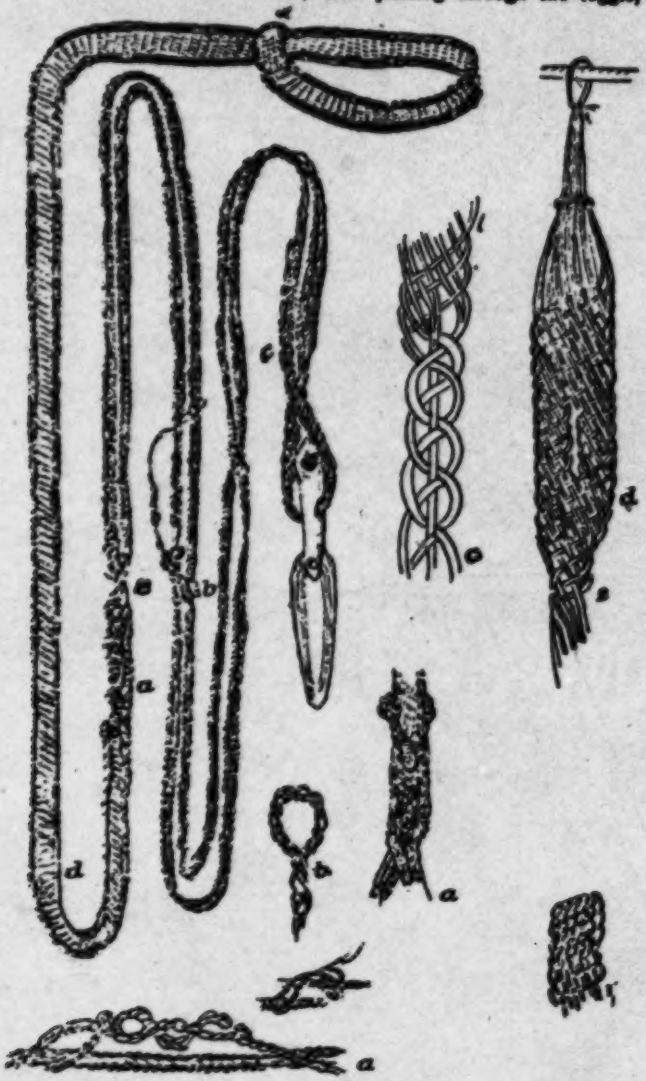

Figure 143. Details of a harpoon line made from plaited sinew. IV.D.200. 1/3.

joined back in various ways, occasionally by a simple knot. At the thick end, which the hunter held in his hand, was a running noose. The accompanying illustrations explain more clearly the details of construction (Figure 143).

All sealers carried these bone skewers stuck in a strip of skin, but not all of them burdened themselves with a bag and a spare harpoon. Lacking the bag, they merely cut a hole in the strip of skin for slipping it over the coat button.

Toggle for Leading Dog. Figure 149 illustrates the usual toggle for leading a dog to the sealing ground. In principle it is the same as the toggle on the harness. The rigid parts are of bone, antler, or musk-ox horn; the cord and strap, of sealskin or caribou leg sinew. The broad loop hung over the sealer's wrist, and the small toggle buttoned into the loop at the end of the dog trace. There was no variation except in size, and no ornamentation.

Toggles for Hauling Seals. Toggles for hauling seals were indistinguishable from women's belt toggles (*See* page 50). Like most of the latter they were made of bone, antler, or musk-ox horn, nearly always the first, measured between 2½ and 4 inches from tip to tip, and had the shape of a crescent that tapered towards each end. Two ends of a short cord of sealskin, or more usually of plaited sinew, were passed through the hole and knotted to form a loop (Figure 150). The sealer threaded the toggle through a hole in the seal's mouth, passed it back through the loop and attached it to the trace of his dog, which then dragged the carcass home.

Sealing toggles, like other bone implements, were often ornamented with incised lines. These will be discussed in another place.

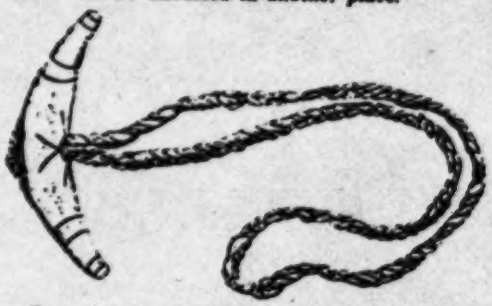

Figure 150. Toggle for hauling seals. IV.D.197. 1/2.

LAND HUNTING EQUIPMENT

Bows and Arrows

Most bows were made from three pieces of spruce wood, a middle piece and two "horns," joined together with the usual "cleft" or V splice (Figure 151*b*). Bows made from a single piece of wood were comparatively rare (Figure 151*a*), though one, owned by a 6-foot Tree River native, was stronger than any of the three-piece weapons. From the eastern end of Coronation Gulf came a few bows built up from musk-ox horn, caribou antler, or both materials combined (Figure 152), indicating a dearth of suitable wood in that region. In one of them, two pieces of musk-ox horn have been joined wth a cleft splice, but elsewhere in this bow, and in all other bows of horn or antler, the makers have used the less difficult scarfed splice, and strengthened it in places with copper or iron rivets. A few wooden bows have scarfed joints also, but they are mostly small weapons for women and children.

Because dry spruce has little tensility and easily fractures, every bow was strengthened with a score or more strands of braided sinew[1] that extended along the whole back and passed around the nocks (Figure 151). Some hunters

[1] One bow, a small one for a woman or child, has thongs of rawhide, presumably from want of sinew.

combined them into two or three cables, or wound a sinew or rawhide cord around them to keep them from slipping over the edge. Stripe of sealskin beneath them checked fraying, and lashings of sinew or of rawhide at the grip and joints held them firmly against the wood. Over each of the two weak places

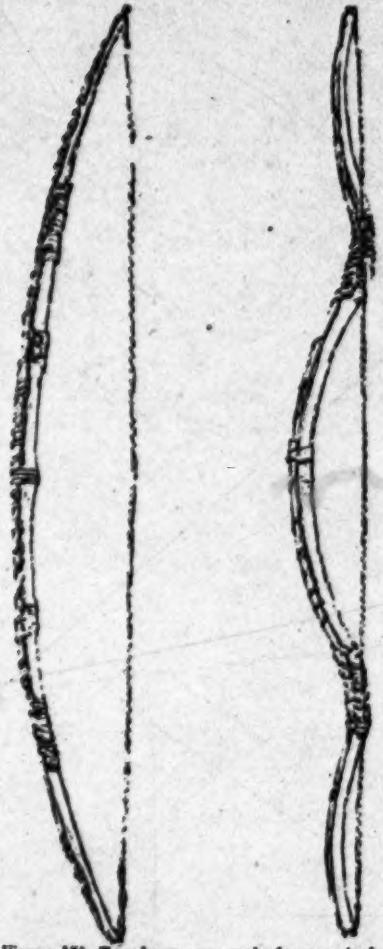

Figure 151. Two bows, one made from a single piece of wood, the other from three pieces. IV.D.72, 1278. 1/8.

Figure 152. Bow made from musk-ox horn and antler. IV.D.1789. Appros. 1/8.

in the bow, the joints, most hunters lashed a plate of wood, bone, or antler, and some added another plate on the under side (Figure 153). As many bows were of inferior wood that required strengthening in various places, the lashings and splices on one weapon seldom corresponded exactly with those on any other. The main strength of all of them, however, lay in the back lashings, which were

411 284 [461] secured to the wood by a complicated series of half hitches, well illustrated by Murdoch.[1] As these back lashings slackened with frequent tension and changing weather conditions, the owner wedged little plaques of wood, skin, or bone

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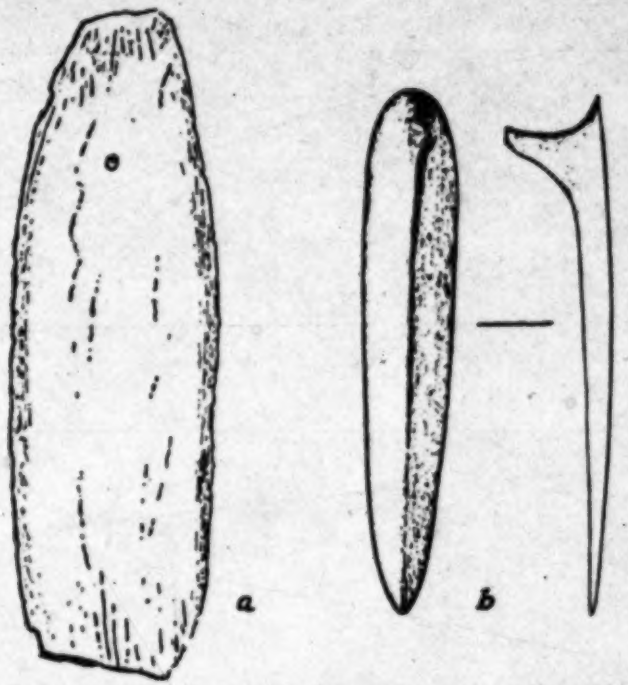

Figure 133. Braces to strengthen the joints of a bow. a: musk-ox horn; b: bone. IV.D.706, 602. 1/1.

beneath them (Figure 134), and when plaques no longer sufficed, he removed the lashings altogether and rewound them, an operation that he could perform in about an hour. Defects in the horns were more serious, but not insuperable. I [461] have seen a native strip a bow down to the bare wood, fit it with two new horns, and relash the weapon ready for use in the space of 4 hours.

411 [283] [284] [237] 411 32 [175]

Figure 134. Plaque of rawhide, wedged under the back lashings of the bow. IV.D.79. 1/1.

The bowstring was made from five or six strands of sinew, twisted together. When stringing his weapon, the hunter sat on the ground and pushed the middle of the bow from him with his foot while pulling the horn towards him.

When the party of Indians with whom Hearne travelled in 1771 massacred some Copper Eskimo at Bloody Fall, near the mouth of Coppermine River, Hearne noticed that most of the Eskimo arrow heads bore triangular points of a slate-like stone, whereas the remainder had points of copper.[2] The Copper Eskimo we encountered were using only points of antler, bone, copper, or iron.

[113]

[1] Murdoch, John: A Study of Eskimo Bows in the U.S. National Museum: Report of the U.S. Nat. Mus., 1884, figs. 9-14.

[2] Hearne: op. cit., p. 132.

per, or iron. They claimed that their forefathers had never used points of stone and ascribed such specimens as they picked up in their country. (*See* Figure 155) to a still earlier people. Thus, it would seem that in the short space of 100 years stone points had passed out of both use and memory.

Figure 133. Two rubbed stone points picked up on the surface of the ground in Coronation Gulf. IV.D.697, 1677. 1/1.

Figure 136. Arrow head, with rubbed slate point, found on Victoria Island. IV.D.1819. Approx. 1/2.

In 1939, Mr. Lincoln Washburn presented to the National Museum of Canada two old slate-pointed arrow heads that had been picked up on Victoria Island.[1] The points were wedged without rivets into rather flat antler foreshafts, one being at right angles to the axis of the shaft, the other parallel with it. Each shaft bore a single barb and terminated in a sharp tang that seemed to lack knobs, but one shaft had been made from two pieces of antler deftly

[1] He added the information that near Holman Island, at the entrance to Prince Albert Sound, is an outcrop of a slate rock that the natives assert was once used for arrow points and knife blades.

411 scarfed and spliced together with three copper rivets (Figure 156). Both were
324 deeply encrusted with lichens, and were evidently of considerable antiquity.
321 Probably they were made by ancestors of the present-day Copper Eskimo. On
the other hand, it is not at all impossible that they are arrow heads of the
172 earlier "Thule"-culture inhabitants who have left other remains in the region.
The use of copper rivets does not rule out this possibility, because copper-bladed women's knives with typical "Thule" handles have been recovered from an old stone house on Victoria Island and from a stone grave on the neighbouring Read Island, along with harpoon heads and other objects of typical Thule
[325] (North Alaskan) types. There are good grounds for believing, therefore, that
[174] the ancient Thule population itself used the local deposits of copper and passed on its knowledge to the ancestors of the present-day Copper Eskimo when the latter migrated into the area.[1]

411 In 1914 arrows with long antler points that fitted directly into the wooden
321 shafts were fairly common; some had no barbs, others one or more along one
325 side. Much more common, however, were arrows with separate blades of bone, copper, or iron that riveted into antler foreshafts, or were provided with long shanks that took the place of foreshafts. Points of bone were rare; about 65 per cent were of copper and the remainder of iron, hammered into the same shapes as the copper ones. These shapes, and also the methods of splicing the wooden shafts when made of two or more pieces, have been rather fully illustrated by Stefansson.[2] Individuals may have preferred one type of point to another for certain game, but so far as I could discover they used all types more or less indiscriminately.

411 The Copper Eskimo used the Mediterranean release, holding the bow
237 almost horizontal. They generally feathered their arrows with goose, loon, eider duck, or snowy owl quills, but did not disdain quills from other birds. Normally, two feathers only were used on each arrow, but occasionally three, for no special reason that I could discover. The hunter cut off on his trimming board all the barbs along one side of the feather, smoothed the rough quill with his knife, grooved the arrow shaft with the special tool for that purpose (or, if he lacked this tool, split it slightly with his knife), and lashed the two ends of the feather in the grooves with caribou sinew. This was the usual way of feathering. Occasionally, however, he merely trimmed the barbs a little on both sides and fastened the feather flat against the shaft. There was also a third method, in which two half feathers, i.e., feathers from which the barbs on one side had been removed, were lashed around the end of the shaft spirally, end to end, and the barbs spread fanwise. I saw a man feather an arrow for his young stepson in this way and was told that it was a rare method, never employed on arrows intended for serious use.

Bow-case, Quiver, and Tool Bag

411 The bow-case (Figure 157), which was made of sealskin to keep out water,
415 was shaped to the form of the weapon; one end was closed, the other left open
281 for some distance down its curved edge to permit the insertion of the bow. To close the opening when the bow was in place there was a short cord of plaited sinew whose loose end was tucked under the lashing, leaving the tip protruding so that it could be unfastened at a single jerk. A quiver with or without a cap was sewn or buttoned to the straight edge of the case; and a tool bag was also sewn to the case in such a way that the quiver, when carried on the back, lay on top of it and prevented its contents from falling out. Often, too, there was a sheath

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 128]

[1] Mathiassen found a little copper in the old Thule site at Nanyan, on the west coast of Hudson Bay (Reports of the Fifth Thule Expedition, vol. IV, pt. 1, pp. 14, 16 (Copenhagen, 1927)); and Graham Rowley discovered a small copper hook in a Dorset culture site near Igloolik, some [illegible] miles farther north. So far as we know today, this copper could have come only from the Coronation Gulf region.

[113] [2] Stefansson, V.: Anth. Papers, Am. Mus. Nat. Hist., vol. XIV, figs. [illegible] (1919).

28: Jenness E-5 (1914-1916) 1946
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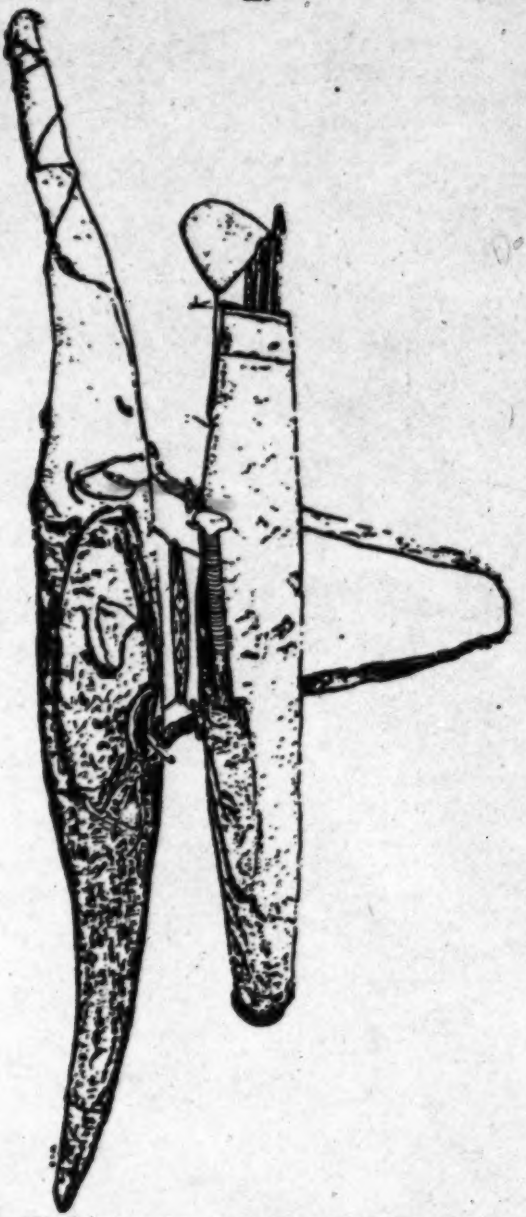

Figure 157. Bow-case, quiver, and tool bag. IV.D.1457. Approx. 1/12.

for the snow knife, which served also as a hunting knife, sewn to either bow-case or quiver. The carrying strap was attached by sewing or with toggles to the same edge of the bow-case as the quiver, so that the two would lie together; in fact, the ends of the strap often served to unite them.

Figure 158. Bone handle of bow-case. IV. D. 199. 1/2.

Bow-case, quiver, and tool bag, when fully equipped, carried on their surfaces nearly a dozen bone toggles and needles whose forms and uses require some explanation. Other objects might be attached for temporary convenience, but they were not standard equipment.

When the carrying strap, which passed across the chest and around the upper arms like the regular pack-strap, was not sewn directly to the bow-case, it buttoned to two toggles of the standardized shape, illustrated in Figure 160*a*. There was also a long, flat handle, *nerumiarvik*, lashed to the straight edge of the bow-case so that it could be carried in the hand. This handle varied in size according to the size and weight of the bow and quiver, its average length being about 8 inches; the shape never varied, however, except that the ends were sometimes pointed instead of rounded. The flat surface lent itself to ornamentation, and most bow-case handles were decorated with a more or less fixed design[1] (Figure 158).

A toggle similar to those for the carrying strap was occasionally sewn on the side of the bow-case for the attachment of a short board. I failed to procure any specimen of this board, but Figure 159 reproduces field sketches of two that I saw in actual use. Each was about 16 inches long, but one was made from one solid piece of wood, the other from two smaller boards lashed together. The toggle on the bow-case passed through the slot in the middle. In the hunting field the Eskimo planted two walking-sticks in the ground, fastened these boards to their ends, and stationed two children to twirl them, or to beat them with a stick, so that the frightened caribou would not break away from the line of the drive and escape the concealed hunters.[2] The board had two names, *kiryalun* and *aulaqotit*, "driving instrument".

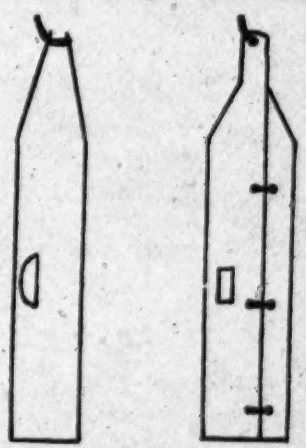

Figure 159. Field sketch of two boards used for frightening caribou. Approx. 1/6.

The quiver was sometimes sewn to the bow-case, sometimes attached by means of small toggles of varying shapes, one type being shown in Figure 160*b*. A similar toggle on the face of the bow-case buttoned over the handle of the snow knife to keep it from slipping out of its sheath.

Somewhere on the outside of either quiver or bow-case were two small bone "wings", from 2 inches to 3 inches long, of standardized shape, for pinning through the wings of

[1] The specimens figured in Birket-Smith, Anthropological Papers, Amer. Mus. Nat. Hist., vol. XIV, pt. 1, p. 33, called a "pull for Cord used in Making Beads", is a bow-case handle.

[2] See Report of the Canadian Arctic Expedition, vol. XII, pt. A, fig. 69, p. 181.

small birds, principally ptarmigan; hence these toggles were called *aqargiqiutit:* "ptarmigan appliances" (Figure 161).

A bone or musk-ox horn handle (*neruminaq*), fitted with a short strap of plaited sinew (Figure 163), was sometimes kept in the tool bag, but more often looped through some hole on the outside of the quiver or bow-case, or attached in some other way. Usually about 10 cm. long, of standardised shape, it was often grooved to fit the fingers in the same way as the blubber pounder and the whittling knife. This handle served on occasion to carry any small bundle, but was principally used for carrying the head of the caribou, or the bag containing its blood. From the latter use it acquired a second name, *auqtun* or "blood carrier".

Figure 160. Toggles sewn to bow-case. *a* for attaching the carrying strap, *b* for attaching the quiver. IV.D.1053, 91. 1/1.

The tool bag was often closed by lacing, for which purpose one end of a short cord of sinew was attached to the edge of the bag, and the other end to a small bone needle with which it could be threaded through the holes. When completely furnished, it contained the following articles.

Two marline-spikes for the bow lashings; two twisters for the bow lashings; one or more spare wedges to go under the lashings; feathers for the arrows, kept usually in a small bag of marmot or other skin; a small board for trimming the feathers; a grooving tool for attaching the feathers; a little caribou back sinew for lashing the feathers, splicing the arrows, sewing rents in clothing, etc.; spare parts of arrows for repairs; bone skewers for the carcasses of game; bone pipe for the bag that contained the caribou blood; a wrist guard; a drinking tube; a needle-case and needle; a mattock for making a hunting pit (if too large for the tool bag this was carried in the quiver or even in the bow-case); an arrow straightener.

Very few tool bags, however, contained all these articles. The natives nearly always hunted together, and the deficiencies of one bag could be supplied from another. On the other hand, the tool bag often contained other articles, such as the whittling knife and the graver for cutting bone, which were more usually stored in a special tool bag at home, with the adze and the bow-drill. The bow adjuster, being large and cumbersome, was also left in camp.

Marline-spikes. Marline-spikes (Figure 163), which averaged from 6 inches to 10 inches long, were made of caribou or musk-ox bone. Some closely resembled marrow spatulæ and, at times, were actually used for extracting marrow, but their larger size, heavier construction, and the small hole below the handle instead of at the extreme end distinguished them from the ordinary spatulæ. This hole enabled them to be lashed in pairs, because two were required to unfasten and tighten the back lashings of the bow. One cord often fastened together the two marline-spikes and the two twisters, which also went in pairs. The handles of marline-spikes were frequently grooved for the fingers on one edge, and sometimes on both. Ornamentation, however, was rare, and when it did occur, consisted merely of a few incised lines or the ring-and-dot pattern.

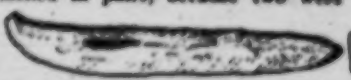

Figure 161. Bone toggle attached to either bow-case or quiver for piercing through ptarmigan wings. IV.D.1079. 1/1.

Twisters. The twisters (Figure 164) were much shorter than the marline-spikes to which they were usually attached, although they were made of the same material, and also used in pairs. All had the same unvarying shape, a flattened

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 131]

stick 4 inches or so in length turned up at the ends in contrary directions, and with a small hole in the middle to lash them together. No ornamentation was observed on any of these implements. 412 321

Wedges. Figure 184 shows a typical wedge, a flat square of wood, bone, or rawhide for inserting under the back lashings of the bow. Some had holes through the middle so that they could be tied to the bow-case. 412 237 [284]

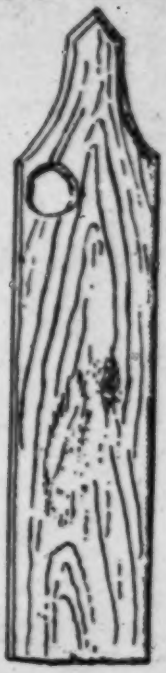

Figure 183. Wooden board for trimming arrow feathers. IV. D.163. 2/3.

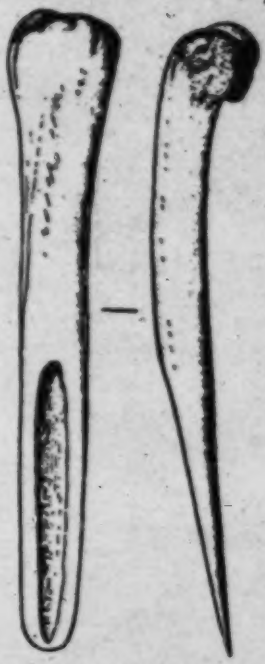

Figure 186. Bone instrument for feathering arrows. IV.D.1623. 1/1.

412 [322] ← [321] →

Board for Trimming Feathers (Figure 165). Any flat piece of wood served for trimming the feathers. The board in the tool bag was usually from 4 inches to 5 inches long and from 1 inch to 2 inches wide. [322]

Grooving Tool. The grooving tool for attaching the feathers to the end of the arrow shaft was generally the hollow wing bone of a large bird bevelled off at one end like a chisel (Figure 166). Hunters who lacked a proper grooving tool sometimes used the marline-spike. [321]

Spare Parts of Arrows. These consisted of broken shafts and heads that could be used in mending; scraps of bone or antler, and pieces of copper, to be worked up later into arrow heads. 411

Bone Skewers. The Copper Eskimo hunter had two sets of bone skewers, one for pinning up the carcass of the caribou, the other for closing the harpoon wounds in seals. It was only the former, which were usually a trifle longer and of slightly different shape, that he carried in the tool bag on his bow-case. Most of them were fashioned from caribou leg bone, and resembled rounded pencils 412 414 321

412 414 321 about 6 inches long that tapered to rather blunt points, and had rounded or conical knobs at their heads so that they could be fastened together in pairs, either tied with sinew or, more often, pushed through holes in a small strip of sealskin. If knobs were lacking, small holes were drilled for tying them together (Figure 167).

412 414 32 224 [415] *Bone Pins* (for the blood bag). The hunter generally collected the blood of the caribou in the reticulum of the stomach, which is shaped like a pouch. To close this pouch he carried in his tool bag two or three thin round pins of bone, rarely of wood, that ranged in length from 2½ inches to nearly a foot. The points were usually rather sharp so that they would penetrate the reticulum without tearing a large hole; and the heads were shaped in various ways, so that many blood pins were indistinguishable from the needles used to lace together the front of a tent (Figure 168). Some were quite plain, others had small knobs or were bevelled off like a marrow spatula; but a favourite form had two or even three projecting points, which were useful for keeping the mouth of the bag open when pouring the blood into it. Many hunters fastened their pins in pairs, like the meat skewers, the twisters, and the marline-spikes. A man who had no pins, tied inside the mouth of the blood bag a wooden plug such as is shown in Figure 169.

Figure 167. Bone skewers for pinning up a caribou carcass. IV.D.490, 1338. 1/2.

411 [531] [795] *Wrist Guard.* Archer's wrist guards (Figure 170) seemed to be universally of bone, and never to vary from an oval outline. The fine carving and engraving that appears on wrist guards east and west of this area was unknown to the Copper Eskimo, where one specimen was typical of all.

415 237 *Drinking Tube.* The drinking tube, though normally carried by the hunter only, was used by his entire family when travelling overland in summer with all its possessions. It was simply the hollow leg bone of some bird, usually a swan, not ornamented or marked by any special features. Many were indistinguishable from the needle-cases often found in the same tool bag (Figure 171).

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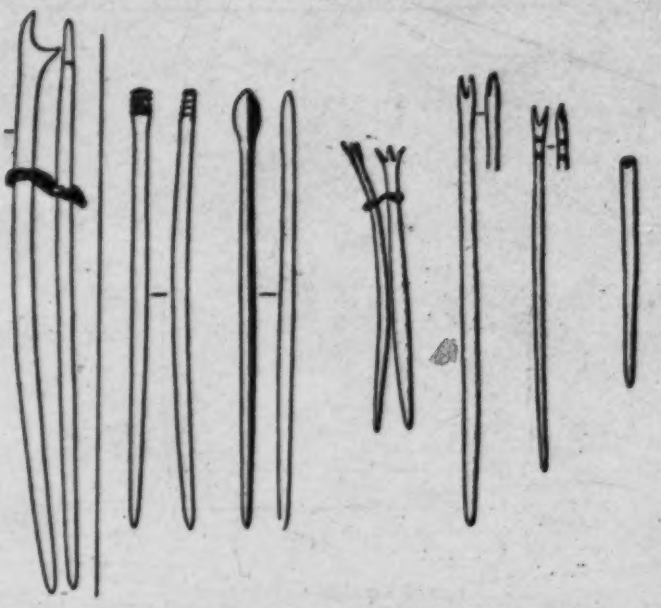

Figure 168. Bone pins for fastening the blood bag. IV.D.1648, 530, 221, 222, 1343, 1517, 490. 1/2.

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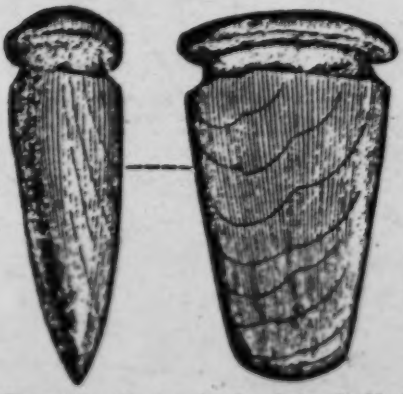

Figure 169. Wooden plug for closing the blood bag in the absence of a skewer. IV.D.1651. 5/4.

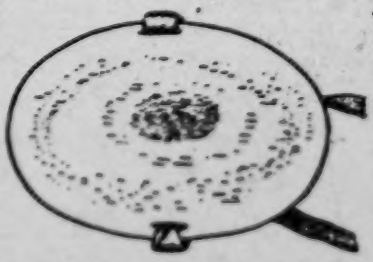

Figure 170. Archer's bone wrist guard. IV.D.[illegible]. 1/1.

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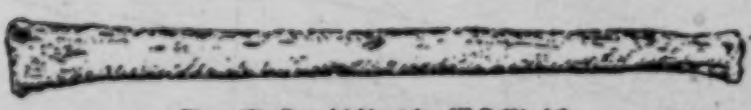

Figure 171. Bone drinking tube. IV.D.[illegible]. 1/1.

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two sharp edges, one of which was slightly higher than the other. One specimen had two slots, the lower more worn than the upper; probably the upper slot had proved unsatisfactory and the wood was large enough to permit a second. I have seen the Eskimo use this tool to adjust the horns of the bow, but it may conceivably have served also to regulate the curvature of the centre piece.

Figure 174. Bow adjuster, of wood. IV.D.94. Approx. 1/3.

Lances

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Lances, which were used only for spearing caribou from the kayak, closely resembled one type of arrow. The long tang of the triangular copper blade was driven into a head of bone, or more usually antler, which was split at the base to form a socket for the end of the wooden shaft, and secured by copper rivets. A specimen is shown in Figure 175.

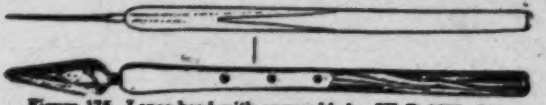

Figure 175. Lance head with copper blade. IV.D.1635. 1/4.

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Besides the regular caribou lance, the natives often improvised crude lances for spearing marmots in their holes, and threw them away when the occasion passed. Figure 176 illustrates the head of one of these marmot lances made of antler; in use it was lashed to a walking-stick. The natives called it indifferently a "hook" (*nigsik*), or a "lance" (*kapu.n*).

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Figure 176. Crude bone point for spearing marmots. IV.D.578. 1/1.

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The Copper Eskimo encountered bears so seldom that they did not develop any special weapon against them. Because they dreaded to meet the barren-ground grizzly at close quarters, they shot it with their bows and arrows; but against the polar bear they improvised lances by lashing their two-edged snow knives to long poles.

Sling and Bolas

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Though children occasionally flung stones at birds with their tump-lines, the Copper Eskimo, strictly speaking, used neither the sling nor the bolas. They claimed, however, that both weapons were current among the inland Eskimo far to the southeast.

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rigid taboos to finish the sewing on the sea-ice. My old snow-hut was empty as I had left it, but cold and cheerless without the warm glow of a blubber-lamp. Seeking more comfort in an inhabited hut, I became the "guest" of a man named Snow-Knife, sharing my food with his family and giving them presents from time to time in payment for occupying half their dwelling. The arrangement proved fairly satisfactory for two or three weeks, but later in the winter I changed my quarters and lodged with another family more sensitive to my personal comfort than to my worldly possessions.

The women sewed industriously from morning till night, but the men found the time drag heavily. Some of them were still bringing in the caribou meat they had cached during the summer, and the pokes of blubber left on the coast in the spring. A few set fox-traps obtained the previous winter from Captain Bernard, the first and only trader who had visited their country. The rest stayed quietly at home and put their sealing-gear in order, or helped their wives to scrape the caribou hides.

In one hut that I visited a middle-aged Eskimo was trying to repair a 30.30 Winchester rifle he had purchased from Captain Bernard. A bullet had stuck in the barrel, for, like many a more civilized hunter, he had scrupulously oiled the outside of the weapon, but entirely neglected the inside. He hammered on the

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bullet with his ramrod; when that failed, he borrowed another rifle and fired a blank cartridge down the muzzle, while a crowd of natives stood around him to see the result. Fortunately there were no casualties; the chamber merely swelled to the size of a hen's egg and cracked. Then the man and his companions, thinking that the tempered steel might be malleable like the native copper they used for their tools, attempted to weld the crack by pounding on it with a heavy stone.

Hitherto I had escaped all friction with the natives; now came my first trouble. I was sitting in their largest hut, bartering knives, files, and cooking-pots for the usual museum specimens. A native offered to exchange a small horn drinking ladle for a twelve-inch butcher's knife, and I refused, since the knife was worth a dozen such ladles. He knew that all my companions were fifty miles away, and determined to take by force what he was unable to obtain through barter. He seized the knife, and I seized his wrist. In strength we were equally matched; he could not release his wrist, nor could I force the knife out of his fingers. The hut was crowded to suffocation with Eskimos, who made no attempt to take part in the struggle, but waited to see the issue. They had no chief, no one with authority to settle the case at strife; if my adversary won, the more lawless would band together and strip me of everything I had. The

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situation seemed desperate as I played my last card. Looking sternly into the man's eyes, I intoned in English, slowly and deliberately, "If—you—do—not—hand—over—that—knife—there—will—be—no—more—trade—between—your—people—and—my—people."

The effect of these words was magical. The natives, understanding no English, thought them a curse that would bring some dire calamity upon their heads. My adversary was terrified. He glanced at his kinsmen uneasily, not knowing what might happen to him the next minute; but—he still clung to the knife. Then the owner of the hut caught hold of his arm and ordered him to release the weapon. It dropped from his fingers, and he pushed through the crowd to the doorway. Not until many weeks later did he venture to appear in my presence again, or to visit our station at Bernard Harbour.

I refused to trade for some days after this incident, and threatened to cut off all trade at Bernard Harbour during the winter. The loss to the Eskimos would have been infinitely greater than to us, because there were only three things we wished to purchase—caribou meat for ourselves, seal meat for the dogs, and museum specimens. The natives, on the contrary, had many wants; they cried insistently for steel knives, iron pots, and metal goods of every description, but above all for rifles and ammunition to replace their bows and arrows.

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usual starting-point for Eskimos travelling to the Great Sound, since the hills immediately north were lower than at any other place either to east or west. Okowyarvik means "the Home of the Dryad," not the wood-nymph of that name, who could never find a home in this desolate land, but the *Dryas integrifolia*, a tiny flowering plant distantly related to our rose. The Eskimos generally paid little attention to the plants around them because they added nothing to their food supply; but the dryad, heather, and willow furnished their fuel during the summer months, and in the hills heather and willow were not procurable.

We lingered a week at "Dryad Harbour," for the season was still early and the snow that covered the land would last another month. While the men were hunting caribou the women overhauled their bags of clothing, putting aside all the heavier garments not needed again till winter. To these they added the furniture of the snow-huts, the long wooden tables, the drying frames, and a few of the stone lamps. Each family made a separate pile of its possessions, and on top of each pile the men deposited their sealing weapons, useless for the life on land. I myself cached nearly all my provisions—pemmican, rice, oatmeal, hard bread, and tea sufficient to last me about a month; only a little tea and cornmeal I retained on my sled, to ease the transition from the "balanced" diet of

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fine trout out of the lake, and but a short time afterward the children were scurrying from tent to tent with steaming messes of boiled fish.

I lay back among the caribou skins after supper, using my sleeping-bag for a cushion, and listened to Ikpuck's account of our day's adventures. A careless movement of my foot upset a tea-cup, emptying its contents onto one of our best robes. Icehouse sprang up indignantly. "You miserable wretch!" she exclaimed. "Do you think you are lying on sealskins? See what you have done. You have ruined our best robe." I cast an apologetic look at Ikpuck, who sat in the opposite corner. A faint smile flickered over his face, and his left eye gave a perceptible wink. Poor Ikpuck. Icehouse intercepted the wink, and, transferring her wrath, heatedly upbraided him for his indifference, while the old man silently hung his head. But her anger gave way to laughter as she helped me to scoop up the tea, and the incident became only a standing joke within our family circle.

We remained at the lake for several days, dividing our time between hunting and fishing. I was not familiar with their method of fishing and had better luck with the caribou. The Eskimos could stalk more skilfully, but my Ross rifle with its powerful copper-nosed bullets was more effective than Ikpuck's .44 Winchester, The Runner's .22, and the bows and arrows that made up the rest of our armament. So

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they were always well pleased when I joined the hunting excursions.

Yet my "parents" were not satisfied. They wished me to become expert in fishing also. The caribou migration was almost ended; soon the herds would scatter far and wide, and fish alone be our mainstay until midsummer. Icehouse made a bag of sealskin to hold all the trout and salmon I would surely catch, and Ikpuck overhauled my fishing-line, fitting it with a barbless hook and bone sinker like his own. Then he wound it over a short stick notched at both ends, gathered up his own equipment, and invited me to my first lesson.

I have a vivid recollection of that lesson. We went out on the lake before noon, and with a chisel of native copper lashed to the end of a stout pole Ikpuck proceeded to dig a hole through the six-foot covering of ice. In twenty minutes he reached the water, making a hole fifteen inches in diameter at the top, four inches at the bottom. He then lowered his line until it touched bottom, rewound it about a foot, and began a rhythmical jigging.

"Take my chisel and make another hole for yourself," he said. Nothing seemed easier. I moved about twenty paces away and dug steadily for half an hour, but always there was more ice at the bottom of the hole. Ikpuck, who already had two trout on the ice beside him, looked over and laughed. "Come and

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Photo by J. J. O'Neill.

The caribou, or reindeer, is the camel of the Arctic.

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Photo by G. H. Wilkins.

The men amused themselves at archery.

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rate of progress, because this sustained effort involved a mental strain to which they were totally unaccustomed. We had travelled long and far for three days, and they needed an interval to recuperate. During those three days, too, they had suffered from hunger, for we had killed no game; and now they gorged themselves so freely that involuntarily I thought of Icehouse's reproach to the dogs, "They have no bottoms to their stomachs." The human body is remarkably plastic; through generation after generation these Eskimos had developed something of the nature of the camel, being capable of taking in a few hours sufficient nourishment to compensate for one period of scarcity and to carry them over another.

During these days of idleness they indulged in various pastimes. They set up a clod of turf about a foot square, and, standing back forty paces, shot at it with their bows. Only about one arrow in twenty hit the target, so that either their marksmanship was poor or their bows very inferior. Since they had all practised archery from childhood, and two of the men, Ikpuck and The Runner, were noted hunters, the fault evidently lay in their bows. These belonged to the type technically known as "composite," like the well-known Tartar bows. The framework was of three pieces of wood rudely jointed together, two end pieces or horns curving backward and a middle piece. All the back of the wood was covered with a narrow band

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of sealskin, over which was lashed a pair of stout cords of twisted sinew. It was the sinew that gave the weapon its spring, for the frame was merely driftwood picked up on the beach, or spruce of the poorest quality. Such crude materials, added to crude workmanship, made the balance very uneven, so that although the maximum range of the weapon was about one hundred and twenty-five yards, its effective range hardly exceeded twenty-five. Indeed, I have seen The Listener miss a caribou that passed not more than fifteen yards away.

While the adults amused themselves at archery beside the camp the children played their own games on the slope above. They set up fences of turf to enclose fictitious caribou, and dug shallow pits from which to shoot their arrows; or they marked out a line of snow-huts with pebbles, and filled the dance-house with imaginary singers. Thus the occupations of the parents were the pastimes of the children, who learned in play their duties of after years.

Twenty-five miles west of the sand-plain, at Bad Creek, we left The Listener's wife to dry our stock of meat, promising to rejoin her before many days; with lightened packs we then pushed on toward Mt. Arrowsmith, camping near a crag of diabase twelve feet high that formed a landmark visible for many miles. Here we encountered a violent snow-storm that continued unabated for two days. We spent the first in our sleep-

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bones. More embarrassing still, Icehouse insisted on frying me the liver in back fat, as I had often done for myself; only instead of pounding the fat between two stones before she placed it in the pan, she made quite sure that it would melt by chewing it!

During our march south, Ikpuck and The Runner visited the coast to search for driftwood, returning with a fine plank that had probably washed overboard from some vessel. So unusual a prize led to considerable discussion. At first they proposed to convert it into two sled-runners, since it required less shaping than the rude logs they generally trimmed down for that purpose; but as both their sleds were in good condition they finally decided to make fish-spears, and Ikpuck split the plank carefully from end to end by means of small wedges of antler driven home with a heavy stone. He then split each section, obtaining four stout poles which he planed and smoothed with his hunting-knife. The care he expended on the task, and his manifest joy at its successful completion, made me realize the handicap under which these people laboured through the scarcity of wood in their country. If I may compare his fish-spears with a product of our own civilization, each pole had the value of a first-class magazine rifle.

All was well in our old camp at Bad Creek, where The Listener's wife had stayed to dry our meat; if anxiety or loneliness had troubled her during her nine days'

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although they mentioned huts of stone, still standing in certain places, that a race of dwarfs had built in earlier days. Could it be that the natives had simply forgotten the customs of their forefathers, or was this wooden house in their country a relic of some ancient tribe that had either moved westward or become extinct?

Many small differences between the Eskimos here and their kinsmen in the Mackenzie River delta spoke in favour of the second theory. The Coronation Gulf people possessed no large open boats such as the western natives used for travelling along the coast, and they never employed the one-man canoes or kayaks for hunting seals. Their tools and weapons were much less varied, their clothing of different pattern, and their skill in carving greatly inferior. Altogether their culture seemed less developed than that of the western Eskimos, although the people themselves were not inferior in intelligence.

A year later Girling excavated a wooden house close to the ruin we had discovered on this journey. The objects he recovered from its floor, after removing the surface soil, were entirely strange to the local Eskimos, although familiar to some Alaskan natives, who had unearthed many similar specimens in their own country. Since then one discovery has succeeded another, so that today we know that the people among whom I wandered for two years had themselves moved into

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L'ENVOI

123 THE Great War was ended, and I sat at my desk again, absorbed in the routine of my every-day work. There was a knock at the door, and Girling entered, but lately returned from a five years' sojourn in the land of twilight. "Icehouse sends you a message," he said; "a message to the son who left her four years ago. She has heard of your marriage, and she longs for a picture of the strange white woman who is now her daughter. She wants, too, a bowl, a large agate bowl. But the picture she desires more than all."

Three years passed before the second message came, this time from Ikpuck. "Jennie your sister is married and has a son. But I am growing old. Come back and stay with me once more before I die."

177 What will the next message say, I wonder? The [439] country has changed since 1916. Even while we said our farewells the traders were all heading eastward to the new land where beautiful white fox skins were valueless and a fortune could be gained in a night. White men have invaded it from every quarter, and the twilight of ignorance and superstition is yielding [411] to the dawn of a greater knowledge. Bows and arrows have passed with other weapons into the darkness of

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the past, and a new mechanical age has brought magazine rifles, shotguns, steel traps, and even gasolene engines. The caribou are passing with the bows and arrows; of all the herds that once crossed the narrow strait to Victoria Island hardly one now reaches the Arctic shore. Strange diseases are making their appearance, disease that the old-time Eskimo never heard of and for which he has no name. The stern laws of civilization have descended on the land; no longer is infanticide tolerated, or the blood-feud allowed to run its course. "Furs, furs, more furs," is the white man's cry. "Without furs there is no salvation, no ammunition to shoot the scattered game and satisfy your hungry children." The tribal bands where each man toiled for all and shared his food in common are resolving into their constituent families, and every family vies with the rest in the race for wealth and worldly prosperity.

Whither will it all lead? Fifty years ago the cyclone swept over the Eskimos of the Mackenzie River delta, and of its two thousand inhabitants a scant two hundred survive. Fifty years earlier it struck Baffin Island with a similar result. Will history, fifty years hence, record the same fate for this twilight land where for two years we carried on our mission? Were we the harbingers of a brighter dawn, or only messengers of ill-omen, portending disaster?